LABOUR MONTHLY

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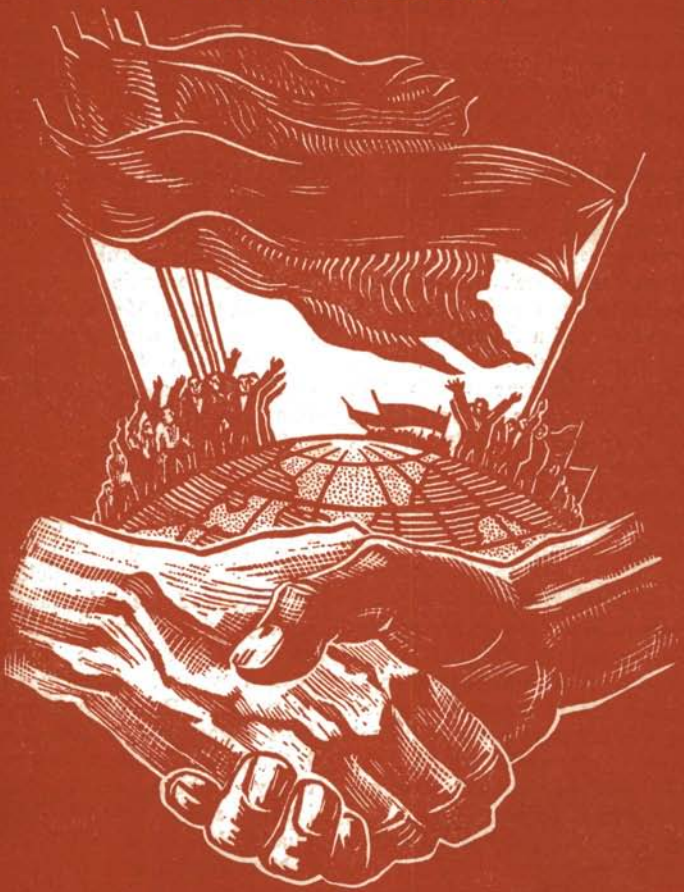

MAY, 1954

A Magazine of Labour Unity

One shilling and sixpence

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THE LAD IN THE GUTTER

The birth of the atom bomb marks the beginning of the end of the American imperialists. For they based their calculations on the bomb and not on the people. In the end of ends it is not the bomb that will destroy the people, but the people who will destroy the bomb. MAO TSE-TUNG.

BEFORE me is a press photograph of eight London policemen dragging a young man off a bus and throwing him into the gutter; a typical 'assault on the police'. Lying there, he brought two more charges on his head—and earned a thumping fine—by gasping out, with what breath he had left, the obscene words 'We want peace!', adding an incitement to riot, 'Ban the Bomb!'. It was exactly four years ago, May Day, 1950, when that crime took place under the blind eye of Lord Nelson in Trafalgar Square.

First Warning

TODAY many more people are repeating the slogans of the lad in the gutter and those with him; they begin to pick up his home-made banner, bearing the dangerous word 'Peace'. For those four years which have passed teach a hard lesson; it is not *safe* to 'leave it to our leaders'. It requires that 'the peoples take into their own hands the cause of the preservation of peace and defend it to the end'. And for that, Stalin added in February, 1951, it was necessary to 'break the net of lies' in which they were being enmeshed. It is indeed more than time that we in Britain learn how to make it come true that the people 'will destroy the bomb.' Readers may recall with pride the part L.M. has tried to play in this essential work. Turn, for example, to the Notes of September, 1945—written just 14 days after the Americans had dropped the first atomic bomb. (Extracts are re-quoted on pp. 204-5). Nine years ago! And then in April, 1950, we printed 'Atomic Weapons: A Symposium', to which the contributors included the late Fred Longden, M.P. and Lady Parmoor, Dr. Joseph Needham and J. D. Bernal. In June, 1952, an article 'Atomic Strategy and the Admiralty' showed vividly what it would mean if an atomic bomb were dropped in British waters. (Nearly two years before the Pacific hydrogen bomb tests began to 'get out of control'.) I think few readers can recall this today without asking themselves; isn't it about time to double, and quadruple, the circulation of L.M.?

Next month I shall describe ways in which new readers have been won. Efforts begin to bear fruit—but it is only a beginning. We have heard from some 250 readers; this must be only a fraction of those who are busy building circulation; but I doubt whether more than 1,000

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Notes of the Month

The Bomb

'Mr. Dulles is a "New Look" anarchist.

He believes in propaganda by deed. He is an advocate of the bomb. The old-fashioned anarchist believed that he could convert people to communism with the aid of a bomb.

Mr. Dulles is more advanced. He believes that he can convert people from communism with the aid of a bomb'.

'THE NEW NIHILIST'S HANDBOOK', Washington, 1954.

MAY DAY, 1954, comes at a very critical moment in the history of Britain and the world. It was not only the hydrogen bomb that was exploded at Bikini on March 1 and spread its trail of suffering and destruction on innocent victims thousands of miles from United States territory, against whom no war had been declared. An explosion followed in the minds of men. All over the world a more urgent shock and sense of menace than even after Hiroshima has struck the consciousness of men and women at the stark prospect of catastrophe threatening humanity from the use of illimitable weapons of universal destruction in the hands of war criminals and maniacs. But we are still only at the beginning of the real battle which must be fought to defeat this

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menace. For the future threat of the hydrogen bomb has been accompanied and fused with the immediate present threat of Dulles' war-calls in London, Paris and Geneva, and his open manœuvres to launch a new Korean war in South East Asia. Never was there greater need for the tocsin of May Day to sound the summons to the working people of all countries to unite in the cause of peace and socialism.

The Accusing Finger

This universal alarm which has followed the first American hydrogen bomb explosion has its own significance. No such shock followed the thermo-nuclear explosion in the Soviet Union in August, 1953. Why? With sneering triumph the apostles of the war camp present this question, believing they have scored a point. They fail to realise what a boomerang this question is against themselves. The inarticulate consciousness of the ordinary man and woman points the accusing finger against the real war criminals and the real menace. Of course no shock followed the explosion in the Soviet Union, and the open proclamation of the Soviet possession of the hydrogen bomb, because the Soviet Union in that same proclamation publicly called for the absolute and unconditional banning of atomic, hydrogen and all similar weapons of mass destruction; every one knew that the Soviet Union was ceaselessly, year in and year out, demanding the international prohibition and renunciation of such weapons, and that it was the Western Powers which blocked and vetoed every such proposal and proclaimed aloud their intention to use such weapons as the supreme weapons of 'civilisation'. Every one knew that the Soviet Union alone had accepted the demand of the World Peace Movement for a public undertaking by every Power never to use the atomic or similar weapons first. Therefore there was not the slightest tremor of alarm anywhere in the world over the Soviet explosion, because the instinct of the common man everywhere realised that here was no menace, no threat, but a new factor on the side of peace, on the side of banning the bomb, since deprivation of monopoly by the American war camp might make them more hesitant to fulfil their proclaimed intentions and embark on a suicidal enterprise.

Double Explosion

But when the first American hydrogen bomb was exploded on March 1—with characteristic callousness and disregard of international law, over a region of thousands of square miles where the

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United States had no claim to sovereignty, and at the expense of non-American victims—universal alarm and horror followed throughout the world. Why? Because every single American political and military leader, Eisenhower, Truman, Forrestal, Bradley, Radford, Wilson and all the rest of them, had repeatedly and publicly proclaimed their intention to use atomic, hydrogen or similar weapons at any moment when they deemed this to be in the interests of the United States. The explosion of March 1 was the musical accompaniment of the Dulles Doctrine of Instant Retaliation, first proclaimed on January 12, and elaborated in subsequent statements by Dulles and Eisenhower, with special reference to the use of the hydrogen bomb. The Dulles Doctrine proclaimed the right of the United States to meet any advance of the people, of socialism or national liberation in any country in the world (described as 'Soviet aggression', irrespective—as Dulles made clear at Caracas—of any question of Soviet participation), or any such developing movement anywhere which might be regarded as a threat to 'the vital interests of the United States', by launching major world war with the use of all weapons at any moment and in any place in the world chosen by the United States Government. It was not merely the reverberation of the American hydrogen bomb that spread its shock throughout the world. *It is the combination of the Hydrogen Bomb and the Dulles Doctrine that represents the deadly explosive combination and the glaring menace to humanity, and that has caused the shocked awakening of the people throughout the world.* The Hydrogen Bomb is the lethal explosive. The Dulles Doctrine is the lighted fuse.

Britain's Peril

Nowhere has this sense of alarm, horror and anger been more deeply stirred than in Britain. For Britain is the decoy duck, the sitting target, or, to use the appropriate American gangster idiom, the 'fall guy' in the little melodrama of human destruction which the Pentagon philanthropists are planning. With a sudden shock of horror the British people have begun to realise that they have been left by their rulers defenceless at the mercy of the whim of a madman, who can at a moment's notice launch them into the pit of destruction without so much as a 'by your leave'. From the rocky fastnesses of his shelter in Washington the President presses the button to pour radio-active death on mankind—and is responsible to no one. Britain has no say.

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'Yours Not to Reason Why'

Britain is only the American base, the instrument, the pawn. The American bombers clutter the soil of Britain. To Britain the hydrogen bomb is to be sent (if it has not been sent already)—but the British people are not to be informed. From Britain the American bombers are to sally forth to scatter destruction on mankind. Britain, as the hornets' nest, the visible launching ground of the criminal offensive against human existence, would inevitably become the main target to be destroyed, if life on earth is to continue. But the dread decision to let loose atomic and hydrogen bomb war on the world is left, with the consent and acquiescence of Britain's rulers, to be the sole monopoly decision of the power-drunk war-maniacs at present in the seats of power in the United States. The British people are to have no say in the decision which could mean the end of their existence. This is the grim plight to which the rulers of Britain during this past decade, the Churchills, Attlees, Edens, Bevins and Morrisons, have brought the British people.

The Hour of Awakening

In the face of this gaunt prospect the scales are beginning to fall from the eyes of the people. All the drugs and opiates of empty smooth-tongued platitudes and lying deception from the kept press and the two Front Benches during all these years have sought to chloroform the people into acquiescence. All the sickening adulation of the American 'saviours' and 'protectors of Britain' and 'Marshall Aid philanthropists'. Morgan Phillips' idol-worship before the American Moloch as the new paradise of Social Democracy. Morrison's genuflexions before the generosity of Marshall aid saving the Labour Government from the spectre of mass unemployment. Now the true meaning of the Marshall Plan becomes clear to all, once Britain and France are caught in the net, and the velvet glove of subsidies for 'economic aid' is replaced by the open mailed fist of bomber occupation and subsidies only for military purposes. The Communists, denounced at the time because they were clear-sighted on the true purpose of the Marshall Plan, are now proved right in the sight of all.

'Outlawry of Atomic Weapons'

John Bull stirs. The crime of Nazi rearmament delivered the first shock of mass national anger. Every memory of the thirties, of all that led to the second world war, is revived. Only by a trick

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of unrepresentative voting were Attlee and Morrison able to secure the narrowest fragile fictitious majority in the parliamentary labour party for such an outrage as to put back arms in the hands of the Nazi generals who laid waste Europe. But the explosions of the American hydrogen bombs have aroused an even deeper and more universal upsurge of feeling of the entire nation. The demand to ban the bomb sounded on every side. 130 Labour M.P.s signed the motion calling on the Government to take the initiative in order to prevent the explosion of any further thermo-nuclear bombs; to bring about world agreement to achieve outlawry of atomic weapons, and prevent further research and development intended for war purposes.

Canalising the Flood

This unqualified demand to ban the bomb ('outlawry of atomic weapons') voiced the feeling of the entire nation. The pro-American coalition of the two Front Benches was faced with the sharpest dilemma since the formation of the Anglo-American military alliance. Once again, as in each preceding crisis, as over Nazi rearmament, Mr. Attlee had to be called in to save the situation for American and Tory imperialism. Only the device of the Attlee resolution, agreed between the two Front Benches, and carried unanimously by combined Tory and Labour votes, to replace the plain demand for banning the bomb by a call for an immediate meeting of the heads of states to consider the problem, succeeded in canalising the flood. The Government accepted the motion, provided the meeting would not be 'immediate'. On this basis a unanimous vote was achieved.

A Halfway Beginning

Mr. Attlee explained in the parliamentary debate that 'I have not a great deal of faith in banning any particular weapon'. In other words, he came out against banning the bomb. He adjured his hearers to 'thank God' that the hydrogen bomb was in the hands of the United States. He pretended that the menace of its use did not arise from the 'democratic' countries, *i.e.*, the United States, which had openly proclaimed its intention to use it, but from 'totalitarian' countries, meaning the Soviet Union, which was openly calling for the ban and had accepted the principle against using it first. Nevertheless, the debate was not without its fruits. Even the weasel resolution, devised to scotch the demand for the ban, had to sub-

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stitute the demand for a meeting of the powers to consider the problem, and thereby dimly reflected the feeling of the nation. Even Attlee's ignominious speech was widely regarded among the rank and file of the labour movement, the majority of whom have little time or opportunity to scrutinise phrases closely, and still more among the general readers of headlines, as a call for action against the bomb. The result was reflected at Edinburgh with the first rise in the Labour proportion of the vote over a long series of by-elections.

Churchillian Bombshell

But more came out of the debate. Sir Winston Churchill, whether stung by the earlier denunciations of Labour back benchers against his surrender of British interests to the American warlords, or, more probably, in pursuit of his devious line of simultaneous counter-manœuvres and alliance in relation to American imperialism, chose the occasion of this debate to explode his own bomb. He made public for the first time the terms of the Quebec Agreement of 1943, which was the original foundation of the Anglo-American military alliance and atomic conspiracy. Thereby he sought to prove that, if he was originally guilty of surrendering Britain's atomic secrets to the United States, he had at any rate attempted to protect Britain's interests by a written guarantee for exchange of information and for Britain's right of consultation and veto on the use of the bomb anywhere in the world. Therefore he argued that the real guilt for Britain's present unhappy plight did not lie with him; that the United States had subsequently swindled Britain by the McMahon Act in 1946, cancelling any exchange of information; and that the guilt for the surrender of the right to consultation and veto on the use of the bomb, thus leaving Britain helpless in the face of American atomic war, lay with Mr. Attlee in 1948 (who, according to the Vandenberg papers, had surrendered it as part of the price of Marshall aid).

Dance of the Skeletons

The skeletons are indeed beginning to come out of the cupboard. The shocked disapproval with which both sides of the House received the Churchillian revelations, reinforced by the subsequent almost universal condemnation in the press of all political shades next morning against this 'regrettable lapse' of Churchillian statesmanship, revealed something more than a professed protest against

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bringing 'party politics' into these high matters. Such petty interchanges of 'You're another' repartee between the Tory Government and its Labour Government predecessor, indicating the identity of practice or misdemeanours on every issue, are the customary small change of parliamentary 'debate' between the two Front Benches in the present veiled coalition. This button-foil fencing has never aroused a flicker of interest. But in this case Churchill, for his own purposes, had chosen to lift a tiny corner of the Iron Curtain surrounding the Holy of Holies—the secret documents of the Anglo-American military alliance and atomic conspiracy, by which the existence and future of the British people have been traded away by their rulers without their knowledge. Thereby he opened the way for the demand to arise from the people for all the documents to be laid on the table, and for the whole criminal conspiracy to be brought into the light of day. This was the 'sad' lapse for which the *Times* next day pontifically rebuked the Elder Statesman.

The Tail and the Cat

The tail of the cat is out of the bag. Let us make sure that we get the whole cat. The general contents of what Churchill revealed were already known—but without the documents—to students of politics, and could be pieced together from the Vandenberg Papers, Forrestal Diaries and other sources. But they were not known, are still a secret, to the general public. It was widely known that Churchill's surrender of the work of the British atomic scientists to the United States was originally accompanied by an American pledge of exchange of information; and that by the McMahon Act the United States bilked this pledge and double-crossed Britain. But what was newly revealed for the first time by Churchill was the text of the specific clause in the Quebec agreement giving Britain the right of veto on American use of the bomb. This was the right subsequently surrendered by Attlee, in agreements whose text has not been published; and this right was surrendered, according to American sources, under pressure of threats of withholding Marshall aid. The text of these agreements must now be demanded. Let the facts be known.

Murder Will Out

Churchill's tactical aim in making these partial disclosures is of secondary importance. It may well be that his main barb was not intended to be directed against Attlee. He had no imperative need

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to strike down his most faithful associate and collaborator. It is more probable that, in the longer term effect of this carefully calculated indiscretion, the barb was directed to his 'beloved ally', the United States. In that case it would represent a further phase of the offensive opened in his speech of May 11 last year, which in the form of a plea for peace (and in its effect thereby performing a historic function) was in fact a reflection of the deepening Anglo-American contradiction. Whatever the motive, the important fact is that the question has been opened. It cannot be allowed to rest with the partial indiscretions of Churchill or the confused and contradictory equivocations of Attlee and Morrison. *It is for public opinion to see that this question is probed to the uttermost, until the full truth of the sale of Britain to the American warlords is brought into the light of day.* For everything is here involved: the whole foundations of the Anglo-American military alliance; the sabotage of the United Nations; the anti-Soviet conspiracy; the Marshall Plan; the Attlee-Bevin Government's role; the role of Toryism; the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb; and the future of the British people, no less than the future of war or peace.

'Thou Canst Not Say I Did It'

Churchill accuses Attlee. Attlee accuses Churchill. Both accuse the United States. The United States accuses Britain. Truman gives the lie to Eisenhower. Eisenhower repudiates Truman. Yes, murder will out. In the face of the fury of the people throughout the world, the criminals have begun to accuse one another. They have begun to 'confess'. There will be more 'confessions' before the matter is ended. Only a tiny corner of the curtain has yet been lifted. There will be plenty more revelations and recriminations in the United States and in Britain. For this is no question of a sensational inquest into the past. It is the present and the future of every people in the world, and of the British people above all, that is at stake. The first fragments of the truth have begun to come out about the foulest criminal conspiracy in international politics—the Anglo-American atomic conspiracy against the peace and the peoples of the world.

Stage I—Story of a Crime

The true history of the crime goes back before the Quebec Agreement. It goes back to the years after the end of the first world war when British military strategy took the lead in elaborating the theory and practice (already begun by both sides in a preliminary

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form in the first world war) of 'strategic bombing'—the mass bombing of civilians—as the supreme weapon of victory in future war. It was the first Labour Government of MacDonald in 1924 that gave the initial demonstration in practice of this strategy—characteristically tried out on colonial people—with the punitive bombing expedition against Iraqui tribesmen for non-payment of taxes, when Lord Thomson publicly boasted that seven hundred corpses were left on the field. The Hague Convention, Article 25, prohibits the bombardment of cities not under direct military assault. Both sides violated this in the first world war, and in the second. Between the wars the attempt was made at Geneva to reach agreement to honour this Convention and prohibit the aerial bombardment of cities. Opposition to this was led by Britain. It will be recalled how Lord Londonderry returned from Geneva to boast that he had had the utmost difficulty to prevent the prohibition of strategic bombing, that it had been a near thing, but that he had succeeded in preventing such a prohibition. The harvest of Lord Londonderry's efforts (combined with the Munich policy of Chamberlain) was reaped by the citizens of London, Plymouth, Coventry and all the bombed cities of Britain. It was this theory of 'strategic bombing' that underlay the subsequent Anglo-American theory of the atom bomb as the supreme weapon of victory in war.

Stage II—The Quebec Agreement

The next stage was the Quebec Agreement of 1943. It was the eternal honour of British scientists, of Lord Rutherford and his colleagues, to have led the way in probing the secrets of the release of atomic energy. There was no question of the significance of this advance; there was no question that the Nazi scientists were working at full pressure to evolve the atomic bomb, and that therefore, under the conditions of the war against fascism, all the questions of the military use of atomic energy had to be tackled. It could be further argued with reason that the most favourable productive conditions and resources were then in the United States. But it is the eternal shame of the Churchill Government that they surrendered the achievements of British atomic science to the United States, not as a sacrifice for the war against fascism, not as a part of the sharing of all military and technical secrets to which the three partners of the alliance against fascism were pledged, but with the specific and contractually admitted aim to establish an exclusive Anglo-American military atomic monopoly whose future point was to be

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directed against the Soviet Union. For this was the essence of the Quebec Agreement. The information was not to be divulged to 'third parties' *i.e.*, the Soviet Union (there could hardly be need of an agreement not to divulge it to the Nazis). The atomic bomb was not to be used against Britain or the United States, but only against 'third parties' by Anglo-American agreement.

The Beginning of the Cold War

The date is significant. In 1943 the Soviet Union was bleeding at every pore, carrying almost the entire burden of battle against the Nazi hordes. The promised Second Front in the West, pledged to Molotov to be established in 1942, was not established either in 1942 or in 1943—not, indeed, until after the advance of the Soviet armies had made certain the defeat of Nazism, and the Anglo-American armies were then poured into Western Europe, in order, as Hoare had told the Franco Government, to prevent the spread of the popular revolution and save capitalism over as much of Europe as they could control. This was the time, already in 1942, when Churchill, while proclaiming his public eulogies of Soviet heroism, had been writing his secret memorandum, divulged by Macmillan at Strasbourg after the war, on the necessity to build the front against 'Russian barbarism' in Europe. Such was the real strategy which gives the lie to all the myths spread by the Bevins and the rest after the war about the 'inexhaustible fund of good will' towards the Soviet Union at the end of the war, supposed to have been exhausted by unexpected Soviet obduracy, when in fact the Anglo-American anti-Soviet front was already being organised, with explicit secret treaties, even during the war. The Quebec Agreement was the formal expression of the Anglo-American atomic military alliance, not as a part of the wider alliance against fascism, but as a sectional military alliance, with its point prepared to be directed against the Soviet Union, as soon as Nazism was defeated. And it is the irony of history that this Quebec Agreement, which in the Churchillian dream was to have been the instrument of Anglo-American world domination after the war, became in the outcome the instrument of United States domination over Britain.

Stage III—Hiroshima

The third stage was Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The decision to drop the atom bomb was an Anglo-American decision. It was not even divulged to Stalin at Potsdam. The guilt of the atom bomb is an Anglo-American guilt. The quarter million slain at Hiroshima

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and Nagasaki were not killed to hasten the end of the war against Japan and thereby 'save lives', as the subsequent myth has been spread to seek to hide the guilt. For the Japanese Government was already seeking to surrender before the bomb was dropped. The minutes of the Japanese Imperial Cabinet have revealed that the decision to surrender was reached before knowledge of the dropping of the atom bomb had reached them, and was based on the grounds that the entry of the Soviet Union into the war had brought such forces against them as rendered it impossible for them to continue the war. The dropping of the atom bomb was hastened and dated by the Anglo-American command precisely in order to anticipate the decisive role of the Soviet armies against the main massed Japanese armies in the Far East. It was hastened, not in order to make the Japanese Government surrender, but precisely because the Japanese Government was already making approaches to surrender. It was hastened to make the demonstration of Anglo-American atomic military power before the ending of the war would have rendered such a demonstration impossible. The dropping of the atom bomb at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was not the last act in the war against fascism. It was the first act in the new cold war for American world domination and against the Soviet Union.

Dreams of Anglo-American World Domination

Look back today at the speeches and press articles in Britain that followed the atomic crime of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They afford a grim picture of the megalomaniac delusions of grandeur and of supposed unassailable joint Anglo-American world domination which was to follow. All the old forms of warfare, the armies and navies, were declared to be henceforth obsolete. The lords of the atom bomb were the lords of the world. It would no longer be necessary to take account of the Soviet Union as an equal member of the 'Big Three'. The Soviet Union would have to bow henceforth to Anglo-American terms. 'So long as we and the United States have the monopoly of this discovery,' proclaimed the blissful *Daily Mail*, 'the difference in war potential between us and the rest of the world is as if they had not discovered electric or steam power.' 'It means a great change in world power relations,' declared the *Observer*, 'it binds Britain and America together as never before . . . it shifts the balance of power among the Big Three . . . the possession of the monopoly of the atomic bomb makes American-British power predominance, for the time being, a fact.'

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Test of Experience

Writing in these Notes of the Month in September, 1945, on 'The Atomic Bomb and World Power Relations' (dated August 21, 1945, within a fortnight of the dropping of the first atom bomb), we ventured to make some comments on these illusions—comments which it is not out of place to recall today, since they can be profitably compared, in relation to present facts, with what was then being said by all the political leaders and press pundits. We suggested that these megalomaniac dreams of 'American-British power predominance' at the end of the second world war (kindly remember these typical words of the moderate 'statesmanlike' *Observer in August, 1945*, when today the myth is presented of the United States and Britain emerging from the war as peaceful lambs only anxious to co-operate on a basis of equality with the Soviet Union, and horrified by the 'power politics' of the Soviet Union) were in fact based on three illusions which would soon shatter these dreams. What were these three illusions which we then predicted nine years ago would be demonstrated by the further development of events? For each one of these predictions has been abundantly confirmed by facts today, and is now universally recognised, although not one was then recognised by the 'experts' of British ruling class opinion.

Illusions and Reality

First, the strategic illusion that the atom bomb could be in isolation decisive in war and render ground forces obsolete. 'The oversimplification of strategy implicit in these assumptions will not bear examination even in the strategic field alone'. Second, underestimation of Soviet science and technique which would assuredly shatter the illusion of an Anglo-American atomic monopoly. 'It has happened more than once before now that reactionary hotheads who have based their confident calculations on the supposed backwardness of Soviet science and technique have had their fingers burned.' Third—and this is the most important to note today—the illusion that there was a *joint* Anglo-American atomic monopoly, when in fact all the evidence indicated that the monopoly was in American hands, with Britain excluded. In consequence, 'the boasted "American-British power predominance" on the basis of the atom bomb is a myth'; Britain was less favourably placed for the enormous outlay required for the large-scale development of atomic energy, which in the initial stages 'can only be within the reach of the largest, most highly developed industrial states such as the

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United States and the Soviet Union'; and in fact 'it is precisely a small densely crowded country such as Britain that is most vulnerable to the atomic bomb, as against the vast and virtually unconquerable spaces of the United States or the Soviet Union'. We drew the conclusion:

> Is it not obvious that the supposed partnership of 'American-British power predominance' would turn into the uttermost helpless dependence of this country on the United States?

In the light of present developments, readers may pardon this reproducing of a prediction from August, 1945, on the future outcome of the Anglo-American atomic agreement, at a time when the text of the Quebec Agreement was still unknown.

Stage IV—Mr. Attlee's Surrender

The shattering of the illusions soon followed. In the spring of 1946 Mr. Churchill, as he then was, made his Fulton speech, proudly proclaiming the theme of Anglo-American world domination, and baring the guns of his public offensive against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies in Eastern Europe. When he made that Fulton Speech, he was still basking in the illusion that the paper Quebec Agreement had guaranteed Britain's equal partnership, not only in the exchange of atomic information, but in the decision for the use of the bomb. But within a few months of Fulton, the United States struck its first blow—at Britain. Before the end of 1946 the United States, by the McMahon Act, had double-crossed Britain, violated its own pledged word, and repudiated the clause of the Quebec Agreement providing for the exchange of atomic information. President Truman had inherited and accepted the Quebec Agreement (indeed, has recently declared it still binding for atomic weapons, but not for the hydrogen bomb). But President Truman, who had presided so benignly over Churchill's Fulton speech, did not deem it necessary to inform Senator McMahon or the Senate about the Quebec Agreement. Indeed, Senator McMahon subsequently alleged that, had he known of it, he would never have ventured to propose the McMahon Act. And of course, prim little Mr. Attlee as British Prime Minister did not think it his place to remind the almighty United States of its pledged word to Britain. A debtor hardly likes to press claims on his moneylender. A well trained Social Democrat is too habituated to surrender to the lords of capital to advise them. So the Churchillian dream went up in smoke. But the clause on the use of the bomb still remained. The biggest surrender was to follow.

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The Mess of Pottage

By 1947 the Churchillian dream received its next blow, when the Soviet Union was able to announce that Soviet science had shattered the illusions of an Anglo-American monopoly of the secrets of atomic energy or of the production of atomic energy or atomic weapons. All that remained of the Quebec Agreement was the clause giving Britain a right of veto on the American use of the bomb. To their horror the American Senators and the Pentagon discovered in the summer of 1947 that this clause was still valid, and that, while the McMahon Act had placed the use of the bomb in the sole discretion of the President, the President could only use that power in accordance with the Quebec Agreement, *i.e.*, with British consent. The Forrestal Diaries reveal how the Defence Secretary Forrestal first learned of the Quebec Agreement in July, 1947. At once the American war leaders got busy to force Britain to abandon its right. This was the moment of the Marshall Plan, when Attlee, Bevin and Morrison had eagerly placed Britain's head in the neck of the noose. The noose had only to be tightened on the victim in order to force surrender. The Vandenberg Papers ('Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg') have revealed how Senator Vandenberg, head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, made clear that, unless Britain surrendered this right, it would have a 'disastrous effect' on Congressional consideration of the Marshall Plan. Conferences followed with the British representatives. Mr. Attlee surrendered. In January, 1948, the new '*modus vivendi*' was reached, cancelling the Quebec Agreement (subsequently admitted by Attlee in the House of Commons in January, 1951: 'the agreement has now been changed and altered, and new arrangements have been made'). Within two months Marshall Aid was approved by the Senate. Britain had been sold for a mess of pottage. A few months later the American bombers arrived in Britain. The Attlee Government had made Britain a helpless American bomber base. Marshall aid 'without strings'.

Uranium

A footnote may be added to this sordid story of the sale of Britain for a mess of pottage. The uranium of the Congo was the indispensable source of supply for the United States production of atom bombs. But the uranium mines of the Congo were operated by a Belgian company, the Union Minière du Haut Katanga, the controlling interest in whose shares was held by the British mono-

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poly Tanganyika Concessions. In April, 1950, the British Labour Government sold 1,677,961 of the ordinary shares of Tanganyika Concessions (or nearly half the total of 3,831,412 issued ordinary shares), which it owned at the time, to an Anglo-Belgian group, which in turn sold 600,000 of these shares to an American group associated with the Rockefeller monopoly interests. According to the Vandenberg Papers, one of the conditions of aid to Britain in connection with the Marshall Plan was that the United States should obtain a share in the development of uranium in the Congo. Thus the Attlee Government not only surrendered Britain as an American bomber base, but also surrendered to the United States a key proprietory interest in the uranium of the Congo, on the basis of which the United States sought to develop its would-be atomic monopoly, excluding Britain. Once again the surrender was extorted as a part of the price of the Marshall Plan. 'Aid without strings'.

Guilty Men

The total strategy of the American stranglehold on Britain, with the decisive aid of subservient Toryism and the Attlee-Bevin-Morrison Government, is inescapable in the light of the (still partial) fuller knowledge which has become available by the present day. If this criminal policy were to be allowed to reach its final outcome in an American atomic war and the destruction of Britain, if the end of the 'Welfare State' were to be revealed as a radio-active ruin, then assuredly the names of the guilty rulers of Britain who were responsible during these years of decision will be remembered by the survivors, if any, only with curses as the men who sold Britain, in return for subsidies to their governments, and out of blind anti-Soviet hatred, first to servitude, and then to destruction. Before that outcome the Guilty Men must be brought to the bar of judgement. The policy must be changed.

And Now

The truth of this criminal record of the Anglo-American military alliance and atomic conspiracy, and of the sale of Britain, is no mere question of the past. It must be made known through every corner of Britain and of the British Labour movement, because it is the present and the future that is at stake—the whole future of Britain and the whole future of peace. We are still tied and bound by this alliance of crime. The sword of Damocles is still over our heads. We must free Britain to save peace. We must not only

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demand the banning of all atomic and hydrogen bombs and similar weapons of mass destruction. That demand alone is not enough, so long as the present rulers of America openly proclaim their determination to use such weapons, and the British Government's official White Paper on 'Defence' endorses that claim and boasts of such weapons as the principal weapons in its plans for future war. We must insist, with the whole weight of a universal national demand, that our Government takes action now, not only to call for the meeting of the Heads of States to ban the bomb, but to join at once with the Soviet Union and like-minded Governments in publicly denouncing atomic and hydrogen weapons and proclaiming that they will never use them first. We must demand open and determined opposition to the Dulles war offensive, and use all our weight for peace in Asia and for a genuine collective peace pact in Europe in place of Nazi rearmament.

Call of May Day

There is still time, however short, to win these aims before the worst. The warlords of the United States are not all-powerful. The beast is vicious and dangerous, and the Appeasement policy of Churchill, Eden and Attlee has only made it more dangerous. But a firm, combined and united stand of Britain, France, the Soviet Union, China and India for peace and against the American hydrogen war offensive, could not only rally the peoples of the entire world, and isolate the American warmakers and render their war plans incapable of fulfilment, but could also thereby, through the isolation, frustration and discrediting of the American warmakers, open the way to internal changes in the United States without war, such as could smooth the road to peace and re-open the doors for the international co-operation of the powers. For these aims we in Britain above all can play a decisive part. To these aims May Day calls us.

April 12, 1954. R.P.D.

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PROBLEMS OF ORGANISED LABOUR IN THE U.S.

WM. Z. FOSTER

IN the American labour movement the question of labour unity in the broadest sense—both ideological and organisational—is of great scope and urgency. In this country this general problem assumes primitive aspects, such as are not to be found in any other major industrial land. This question of labour unity can best be understood in the light of the class struggle tasks and responsibilities now confronting organised labour of the United States. These burdens are so heavy and complex as to have not only national but also international importance.

First, there is the question of combatting the war drive of American imperialism. The industrial tycoons of Wall Street are resolved upon world conquest, and they are willing to wade through another world war in a desperate attempt to achieve it. Their Eisenhower Administration, like the Truman Administration before it, is fully controlled by monopoly capital and is orientating upon the perspective of an inevitable all-out war against the Soviet Union, People's China, and the European People's Democracies. This is the clear meaning of the $50 billion yearly war budget, the construction of war bases all over the world, the frantic attempt to build N.A.T.O. and to rearm Germany and Japan, and the poisonous campaign to militarise the American people. Obviously to defeat all this presents a gigantic problem for the labour movement.

The world democratic forces have made splendid achievements in slowing up the war drive of American imperialism, and in easing international tensions, but that a real war danger still persists is all too clearly shown by American interference in Korea, Indo-China, and elsewhere. The most dangerous aspect of American foreign aggression is the so-called 'liberation' policy of Eisenhower and Dulles. This is a programme of fomenting civil war in the countries of Socialism and People's Democracy. Its threatening potentialities were shown by the serious American-organised 'insurrection' in East Germany on June 17, 1953, which might have caused a desperate civil war.

The second basic problem now confronting the American labour movement is that of protecting the workers from the developing economic crisis. For the past fifteen years American industry has

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been booming along on the basis of the production of munitions for World War II, the Korean war, and in the gigantic preparations for a war against the Soviet Union and its friends. But now this war boom is coming to an end, and many signs of crisis are at hand. Agriculture has fallen into a deep slump, the production of steel—the industry for years has been operating at 100 per cent. capacity—is now down to 70 per cent. and the textile, automobile, coal mining, and various other industries are also experiencing a serious falling off of production. Close to 6,000,000 workers are unemployed, many millions more are working part-time, and the number is on the increase. Economic storm signals are flying and the capitalists are greatly alarmed. The Eisenhower government, which operates on the Keynesian 'managed-economy' theory that economic crisis can be prevented, or virtually so, by 'pump-priming' policies, has been unable to check the economic decline. All of which obviously presents grave responsibilities to organised labour, in the protection of the jobs and the living standards of the working class.

The third basic problem facing American labour at this time is that of combatting growing fascism in the United States. This sinister development has major roots in the war programme of American imperialism. It got well started under the Truman Administration, in the loyalty tests, thought-control laws, persecution of Communists, and the whole spate of reactionary legislation adopted during the Truman years. The Korean war especially stimulated the malignant growth. Since the Eisenhower administration has been in power during the past sixteen months, this incipient fascism has become distinctly more dangerous. Eisenhower is grossly appeasing McCarthy, who is becoming more and more a powerful figure in the Republican Party. McCarthyism, which is American fascism, has become a real menace. Never in the history of the American Republic have the people been so intimidated and terrorised ideologically as they are now by the hysterical campaign of red-baiting and Soviet-hating at present going on. All this, of course, is of the most vital concern to labour, the Negro people, the poorer farmers, and all other democratic strata.

Naturally, the responsibility for leading the struggle against these three threatening dangers—the war drive of Wall Street, the developing economic crisis, and McCarthyite fascism—devolves upon the organised labour movement. And to meet this grave responsibility organised labour has the most pressing need to strengthen its organisation and its ideology. Let us see, therefore, what, concretely some of these needs are:

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First, on the industrial field: In the United States there are at least 16,000,000 organised trade unionists. This is an imposing figure, and the potential strength of such a great body of organised workers could be of decisive importance. But the workers are anything but truly united. Aside from the lack of real solidarity within the specific groups of unions, there are the following separate and often more or less conflicting groups: American Federation of Labour, 10,000,000 members; Congress of Industrial Organisations, 4,000,000; Progressive Independents, 500,000; Miners, 500,000; Railroad Brotherhoods, 500,000; other independents, 500,000. Manifestly, in this field the strength of organised labour is scattered and there is a real need for parallel action by the unions and for the eventual unification of all the unions into one great federation of labour.

Second, on the political field: Here the disunity and weakness of American organised labour is far greater and more patent even than in industry. Actually, the working class has no mass political party whatever, but still remains tied to the two major capitalist parties—overwhelmingly to the Democratic Party. There is no pro-labour party whatever, save the small Progressive Party, which does not have the backing of any of the big labour groups and which polled only a negligible national vote in the last national election. The Socialist Party is insignificant in size, with not over 2,000 to 3,000 members, and the Communist Party, in actual numbers, under the present terroristic conditions, does not count more than 30,000.

The only concrete national political organisations possessed by the trade union movement are the Labour's League for Political Education (A.F. of L.) and the Political Action Committee (C.I.O.), both political agitation organisations, not parties. The railroad unions and miners usually develop similar bodies in election periods. The Labour movement is so unorganised politically that there are not even well-established labour fractions in Congress or in any of the 48 state legislatures. The unification of the workers on the political field through a broad mass labour and labour-farmer party is, therefore, of historic importance to the American Labour movement. In the meantime, the Communist Party is striving to develop the elements of worker organisation within the scope of the Democratic Party.

Third, in the ideological sphere: The most serious disunity and weakness of the American labour movement is the pro-capitalist ideology which dominates it. The top leaders of the trade unions

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are open and blatant defenders of the capitalist system, even as are the biggest monopolists in Wall Street. They are supporters of Keynesism (without the name), holding to the conception of 'progressive capitalism'. They believe that economic crises can be averted or at least rendered harmless by government pump-priming. Forty years ago at least one-third of the American labour movement was avowedly committed to Socialism, but today there is not one A.F. of L. or C.I.O. union (or even one prominent leader) that endorses Socialism. This indicates how far-reaching is the grip of Keynesian illusions upon the American labour movement.

The bourgeois-minded leadership of the great mass trade unions in the United States also swallow whole the anti-Soviet, pro-war line of Wall Street big business. Indeed, many of them even outdo the capitalists themselves in their expressions of vicious anti-Soviet hatred. They are also blatant warmongers. Men like George Meany and Walter Reuther, presidents of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. respectively, gloried in the June 17 'insurrection' in East Germany and they openly advocated the instigation of civil war in the European People's Democracies and the U.S.S.R. These reactionary elements did not even hesitate to do the filthiest work of the U.S. State Department, in allowing themselves to be used as splitters of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Latin American Confederation of Labour, the C.I.O. and the labour movements in France and Italy. They also show very little initiative, and often none at all, in fighting the growing fascist menace in the United States. With such a rotten leadership, the masses of workers themselves, while possessed of healthy proletarian fighting instincts, are by no means free of various sorts of capitalist illusions and anti-Soviet moods. The basic strengthening of the ideology of the working class and the development of a leadership acordingly, is the greatest of all the many heavy tasks of unity and development now facing the labour movement in the United States.

The foregoing analysis would seem to sum up to a pretty gloomy picture, but things are not as bad as, at first glance, they might seem. The fact is, the American working class is now going into a period of political awakening and struggle that may, and doubtless will, produce far-reaching consequences. It is a gradual mass movement to the left, but as yet at only a moderate pace. This new and more militant mood of the workers touches all three of the major questions referred to above; namely, those of the war danger, the economic crisis, and McCarthyism.

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Regarding the menace of war, it should be borne in mind that the American people suffered comparatively little from the two world wars. Their cities were not bombed, their war casualties were relatively light, and their economic hardships were negligible in contrast with those of other peoples. Consequently, they do not have the bitter memories and great dread of war characteristic of European peoples. Nevertheless, the American people are also peace-loving and do not want war. Their natural repugnance for war has also been greatly increased by the fact that the U.S.S.R. has succeeded in cracking the supposed American monopoly of A and H-bombs. When there is the sure prospect that in case of hostilities your own cities will be atom-devastated, then war against the U.S.S.R. loses much of the 'picnic' atmosphere that would-be A-bomb monopolists have long tried to give it. Consequently, peace-sentiment in the United States, although still largely leaderless, confused and unorganised, represents a great potential political force. It can be mobilised eventually to deal a smashing defeat to the warmongers.

The threatening signs in the economic sphere are also causing much serious thought and alarm in the ranks of the American working class. For the last fifteen years the people of this country, fattening on war munitions production, have been living in pretty much of a fool's paradise. And the protagonists of capitalism, who are noisy and many, have long since undertaken to convince the workers that their war-made prosperity was permanent. This was a favourite theme, among others, of the Truman politicians. But now, with production sagging and unemployment growing, the mass tendency is sharply to diverge from these 'prosperity illusions'. Although the great economic crisis of the 1929 period is now two decades in the past, recollections of its horrors still linger in the mind of the masses. This is why the trade unions, stirring somewhat from their prosperity-bred somnolence and class collaboration, are beginning to wake up, to formulate 'anti-depression' programmes, and to demand that the government bestir itself to prevent a repetition of the 1929-1933 catastrophe. This mass anti-crisis movement is also full of potentialities.

The working masses, including the Negro people and the poorer elements among the farmers, are also beginning to stir regarding McCarthyism. This American-brand fascism has its roots back in the earliest days of the Truman Administration. This was manifested by the many loyalty-pledge, thought-control laws and wholesale prosecutions of Communists of those years. But the great mass

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of the workers—and especially the trade union leadership—were not too alarmed at all this. For, with the exception of the Taft-Hartley anti-trade union law, the current political reaction and persecution seemed to be directed only against the Communists, and why worry about them? After all, everybody had a job, wages were good, and 'everything was lovely and the goose hung high'. But now the picture is radically changed. The crude fascism of McCarthy, with his multi-millionaire backers, is so patently a threat to the whole body of American democratic liberties, that a powerful anti-McCarthy movement is rapidly developing among the working masses. This is manifest in many directions, the rank and file of the unions are seething with it, and in the future it will be heard from.

Obviously, the growing struggle mood of the American working masses, for peace, for a fight to get an 'anti-depression' programme, and for a struggle against the looming menace of McCarthy fascism, portends important mass struggles in the United States in the not too distant future. Despite the crass ideological backwardness of the American proletariat, the history of this country shows that great mass struggles can develop on very short notice. With regard to the perspective for labour in the United States, there are two important factors that should be noted, one negative and the other positive.

The negative factor is the intense persecution to which the Communist Party is now being subjected. Our whole national leadership (except two or three of us cripples) has been jailed, or sentenced to jail, and the leadership of every district in the country, except Boston, is also either in jail now or on the way there through the courts. Communists in this country are now second or third class citizens, being denied the right to employment in government services, to work in key industries, to teach in the schools, to serve freely in the armed services, to obtain passports, to hold office in trade unions, etc., etc. The country is fairly dripping with anti-Communist hysteria. Up until now, the policy of the government has been not to outlaw the Communist Party, on the theory that 'it is easier to control the Communists if the Party is left above-ground.' But now several bills to outlaw the Party are pending before Congress. All this persecution, of course, hinders the Party from giving the workers the leadership which they now so urgently need, and it is a major factor in the American labour situation.

The second, and positive, factor that should also be noted is an important political stirring among the masses of the organised workers. Most of the labour movement is politically affiliated to

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the Democratic Party. Consequently, so long as the reactionary demagogue Truman was in office, there was a strong tendency among the workers to look upon him as their friend and consider his administration as 'their' government. The advent of the Eisenhower régime, however, dealt a shattering blow to all these naive, petty-bourgeois illusions. Eisenhower promptly loaded up his Cabinet with big business men and embarked upon such a rawly reactionary and anti-labour course that even the most opportunistic labour leaders have not dared to peddle the nonsense that he is the friend of the workers. Eisenhower has let it be known that the unions will not get the easy concessions of the recent past. The general result has been that a strong anti-Eisenhower political movement is shaping among the workers. Although this movement as yet does not bear even a hint of becoming a labour party, obviously it definitely has this potentiality. In moving towards class independent political action, the main task at this time is to create elementary opposition movements of workers within the Democratic Party.

It is impossible within the scope of this article to outline our Party's policies for meeting the complex and difficult situation in the United States. As best we can, however, we are striving to give unity, strength and direction to all the mass currents of resistance against economic chaos and against the war and fascism programme of American big business. But these tasks are immense, in the fight for the unification of labour's ranks—in a trade union sense, in the creation of an eventual great political party of labour, the Negro people, and the poorer farmers, and in the cultivation of a Marxist-Leninist ideological unity among the masses, in a pro-peace, anti-fascist, anti-war movement. At the present time the Communist National Committee has before the Party a draft Programme, covering comprehensively the whole range of Party policy. We may count on the American proletariat being heard from strongly in the months and years ahead.

From now on, we may look for a rising tempo of mass struggle in the United States. This will come to a real clash in the coming November elections. As things now stand, the Republicans are counting on McCarthy to carry the election for them. Unless the situation radically changes in the meantime, a major issue will be for or against McCarthyism. If so, this will bring forth a bitter political struggle upon the part of the labour movement and all other democratic forces.

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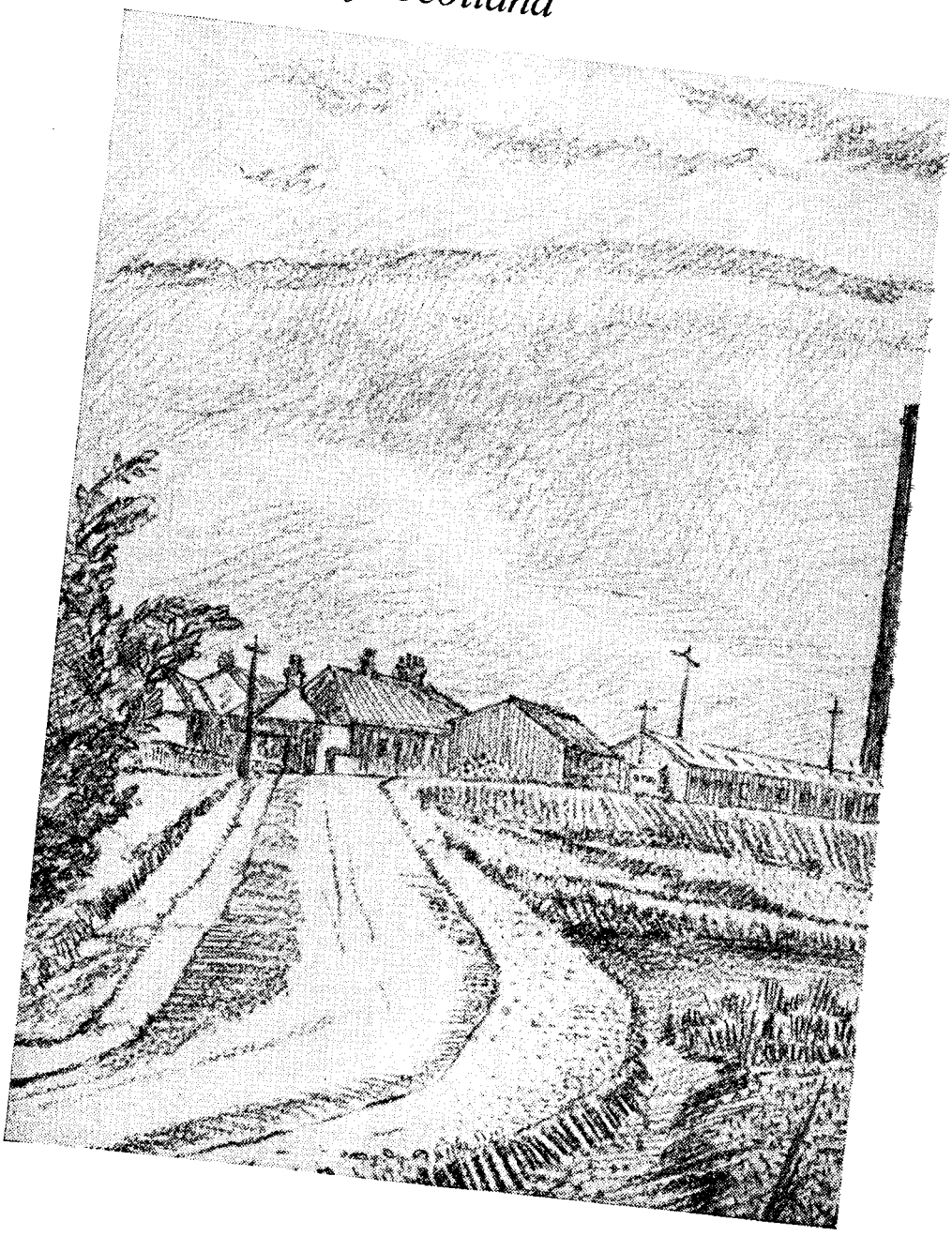
Drawings of Scotland



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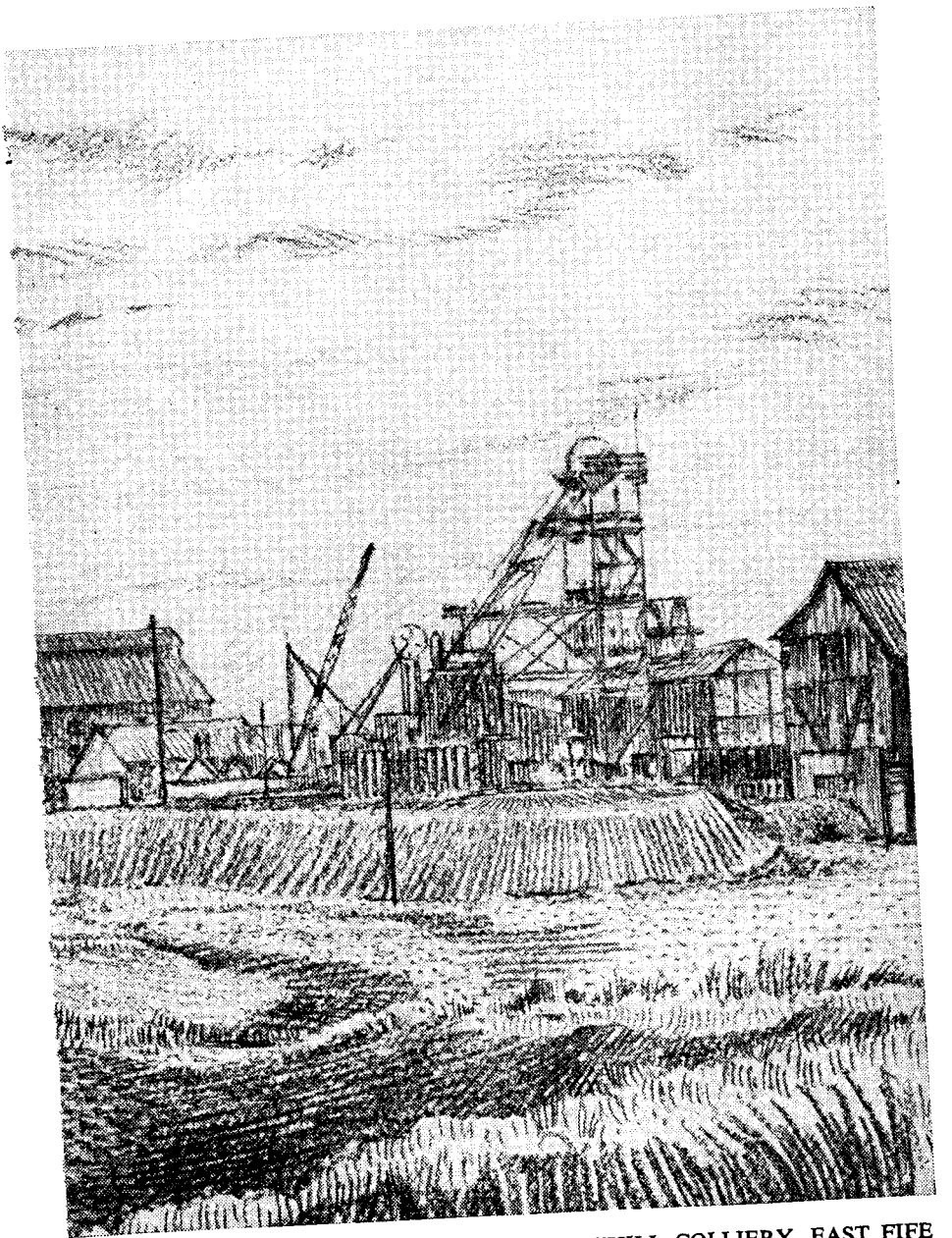
by R. T. F. Turner



BOWHILL COLLIERY, EAST FIFE

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WORLD SECURITY AT GENEVA

QUÆSTOR

I. *The Far East*

FOR the first time since the second world war, the leading Great Powers—the U.S.A., Britain, U.S.S.R., China and France—are meeting in conference at Geneva, together with other states, to discuss matters of primary importance to the whole world. There is more than chance in the selection of Geneva for this meeting. When the United Nations organisation was being founded in 1944, Lake Success was chosen as its seat because it was hoped that on friendship between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., the two mightiest Powers in the world, durable peace could be built. One need not dwell here on all that has happened since then.* No one in Europe, at any rate, whatever his political camp, would venture to assert that today a fair and cool examination of international problems is possible in the war-crazed, hysterical atmosphere created by the New York press, under the shadow of the Senate drunk with power over men's minds as well as their bodies, and served at Lake Success itself by mainly American and therefore terrorised staff.

Moreover, from Lake Success the very facts about what is said and done reach the peoples of Western Europe in a muffled, truncated and often distorted form, thanks to the sound barrier of the capitalist press—or do not reach them at all. The West European working class and progressive newspapers cannot afford to maintain permanent representatives across the Atlantic, or to pay for a full cable service. Geneva, in the heart of Europe and within telephone-call of its principal capitals, is in a somewhat different position. The European working classes will be able to hear better what is said. The selection of Geneva for the meeting due to open on April 26 is thus a silent acceptance, not only of changed diplomatic relations since 1945, but of the new situation created in the last five years—particularly since the Stockholm Peace Petition—by the independent entry of the great mass of the peoples into the arena of foreign policy, more and more loudly demanding a negotiated agreement of the Great Powers.

*One cannot too strongly recommend at the present time, when there are constant references to post-war international developments, the compact but full summary in many different fields contained in D. N. Pritt's *Russia is for Peace*. (Lawrence & Wishart. 2s. 6d.).

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This is an important element of the Geneva conference. Without exaggeration one can say that dozens of millions of people are not only attentively watching its proceedings, but are ready to elbow their way into them if necessary, to save world peace. Twenty-two years ago, demanding on behalf of the U.S.S.R. that there should be the maximum publicity for the debates at international conferences, Maxim Litvinov said at Geneva: 'Only by this means can we draw the peoples themselves into co-partnership in international life, and that co-partnership is particularly necessary to solve the problem of disarmament'.

He was speaking at the abortive Disarmament Conference, the glass-cased walls of which were lined with petitions from many millions of people praying and hoping for peace. Today at Geneva the statesmen know that the people are no longer praying, but demanding loudly and urgently. And the issues at stake are still greater than they were in 1932.

One of them is not on the formal agenda of the Geneva meeting —the hydrogen bomb. It is what makes the threat of a new world war, starting in the Far East, particularly frightful. It is in the thoughts of every delegate, it is silently present at every discussion, it lurks in every corridor of the Palace of Nations. It was implicit in John Foster Dulles' boast on January 12 that the United States authorities had made a basic decision 'to depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly, by means and at places of our own choosing'—a statement which aroused more alarm among the United States' allies than anything else Dulles has said for years. The subsequent outcry among peoples and politicians alike produced two important decisions at the Berlin Four-Power Conference —that the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. should directly discuss proposals in connection with the use of atomic energy, and that they and the other two Powers, 'convinced that a solution of international controversies, necessary for the establishment of a lasting peace, would be considerably aided by an agreement on disarmament, or at least on a substantial reduction of armaments' would hold an exchange of views to promote a successful solution of the problem.

Formally the exchange of views may take place within the framework of the United Nations commission on disarmament, as agreed at Berlin: but in fact the presence at Geneva of all the Foreign Ministers concerned makes certain that the hydrogen bomb and atomic disarmament will be discussed by them also. Indeed the United States Government obviously was preparing for Geneva when it followed up Dulles' speech with two hydrogen bomb

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explosions, on March 1 and March 26, the second announced on the same day (March 29) as a second speech by Dulles demanding 'united action', involving 'serious risks', to prevent a defeat of the French in the war in Indo-China—one of the subjects of the Geneva meeting. The second announcement, too, produced the usual crop of triumphant bellowings by American politicians, like this by Congressman Preston (March 31): 'We have completely ringed Russia with bases from which we now could obliterate every Russian city'.

But the peoples know very well that the Soviet Union has long ago mastered the secret of the hydrogen bomb, atomic bombs and much else: and that those who lift the sword may perish by it, in this case, along with hundreds of millions of innocent persons. The question officially on the Geneva agenda, however, is that of peace in the Far East.

At Berlin the view was recorded that 'the establishment, by peaceful means, of a united and independent Korea would be an important factor in reducing international tension and in restoring peace in other parts of Asia'. For this purpose a conference was to meet in Geneva on April 26, in order to hold two discussions. One, to which representatives of the U.S.A., France, Britain, the U.S.S.R., the Chinese People's Republic, the Republic of Korea (*i.e.*, South Korea), the People's Democratic Republic of Korea (*i.e.*, North Korea) and other countries whose armed forces fought in Korea would be invited, would be 'for the purpose of reaching a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.' The other, to which representatives of the U.S.A., France, Britain, the U.S.S.R., the Chinese People's Republic and other interested states would be invited, would be to discuss 'the problem of restoring peace in Indo-China'.

It will be seen that the Chinese People's Republic was among the five Great Powers which alone would attend both discussions—a step, if only a tiny and grudging one, towards recognition of the rightful standing of a State with 500 million citizens, nearly a quarter of the world's population and more than three times the population of the United States.

How did the United States Government start preparing to reach 'a peaceful settlement of the Korean question'? By informing Syngman Rhee very soon after the end of the Berlin Conference that he need not regard himself as bound by any decision taken at Geneva—'guidance' which Rhee's Foreign Minister revealed on March 9, adding that his condition for going to Geneva was that, if

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agreement could not be reached there within three months, the U.S.A. would support him in marching north. Naturally the Americans went through the pretence of 'deepest anxiety' at such a 'provocative attitude' which they themselves, being in full command of their puppet, had dictated.

Hardly surprising, however, that a week after the revelation of March 9 the diplomatic correspondent of *The Times* was writing that at Geneva 'it is not expected that any real settlement of unification of Korea will be possible' (March 17). And indeed on March 29 Dulles proclaimed his aim to be the unification of Korea 'from which Communist China will have withdrawn its army of invasion'. Dulles was of course silent on the question of the withdrawal of American forces; and his speech in practical language meant that Syngman Rhee must be given a free hand to overrun North Korea. On April 16, Nixon, Vice President of the United States, told several hundred editors 'off the record' that Geneva would 'end in an impasse on Korea'.

In the case of Indo-China, there was no means of repeating the brazen farce of poor little helpless America trembling with anxiety lest that terrible and unpredictable giant, Syngman Rhee, drag her into war in Korea once again. The tactics of provoking an extension of the war were pushed forward to the utmost. First the sinews of war were provided: on March 16 it was announced that the United States would finance it to the tune of £490 million, 78 per cent. of its cost (America had covered 50 per cent. of the costs in 1952 and 60 per cent. in 1953). And duly M. Laniel, the American Party's Premier of France, rejected (April 5) the proposal for a cease-fire in anticipation of Geneva which had been put forward by the Indian Prime Minister Nehru on March 22 and endorsed by the Canadian Premier St. Laurent two days later—echoing offers made by Ho Chi-Minh, the President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on November 16 last year.

On this thoroughly prepared ground the United States Government went on busily sowing its dragon's teeth. On March 26 it let journalists know that it 'sharply discounted the importance of the Geneva conference' (*Manchester Guardian,* March 27, 1954); and that the Republican leaders in Congress have told Dulles that 'it was a mistake to put Indo-China on the Geneva agenda' an error for which 'he will be held strictly accountable'. A truce in Indo-China, said the report of a Congressional mission published on March 27, would mean 'a smashing victory for world Communism': the Indo-Chinese question should be brought before the United

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Nations only to mobilise opinion against Communist aggression, and arms deliveries to the French forces should be accelerated. As for Geneva, said Congressman Judd, the mission's chairman, there was no objection to talk about Indo-China there if good faith were shown: but 'good faith could come only if the Chinese ceased being Communists'. Conclusion? 'We must break Communist China.'

On March 29 Dulles chimed in. 'If Communist forces won uncontested control over Indo-China or any substantial part thereof, they would surely resume the same pattern of aggression against other free peoples', he said. What Dulles meant was that if ever there were a compromise settlement with the Viet-Minh patriots fighting to free their country from foreign rule (as the American patriots fought from 1776 to 1783)—much more if their right to national independence were recognised (as was that of the United States in 1783)—this would encourage other exploited and oppressed peoples of Asia to strengthen their own fight for freedom. At the Geneva Conference, Dulles hoped, any Indo-China discussion 'would serve to bring the Chinese to see the danger of their *apparent* design for the conquest of south-east Asia'. In other words, that he intended using the Geneva Conference not to secure an agreed settlement, but to 'mobilise opinion' against China, as his masters had ordered. He put forward for the first time the demand for 'united action, which might involve serious risks' *i.e.*, for an ultimatum to China and Ho Chi-Minh, in advance of the Geneva conference.

In spite of visible signs in the governmental press of Britain and France that these suggestions alarmed even those who until now had been America's willing satellites, Dulles and his friends pressed on. China is 'skirting close to aggression' in Indo-China, and if she continued would come 'awful close' to war which must produce 'massive retaliation' by the U.S.A., Dulles said at the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives on April 5: backing his threats with stories of a non-existent 'Chinese general' at the Viet-Minh headquarters, Chinese artillery and technicians, etc. and even of equipment from 'Russia or her satellites'. In reality, as in the Chinese war of national liberation, it is captured American equipment which the Vietnam People's Army are using.

The very next day he made a formal proposal to Britain, France, Australia, and New Zealand (Siam and the Philippines thrown in for appearance' sake) to threaten China with joint naval blockade and air bombardment if 'aggression in Indo-China' did not stop, *i.e.*, if the Viet-Minh forces did not surrender to the French. And

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when the French and British Governments made it quite clear that the spirit was willing but the flesh was weak—that they dare not entertain such an impudent scheme for preventing negotiations at Geneva, for fear of their own public—Dulles was dispatched post-haste to London and Paris to try and break down their resistance. Meanwhile, Eisenhower informed his Press conference on April 7—as though it didn't know—that 'he did not think there was a good chance of reaching a negotiated settlement at Geneva'.

This is not surprising, when *The Times* Washington correspondent was able to report (April 9) that the National Security Council of the U.S.A. Administration had decided 'that a Communist victory, even if achieved with Viet-Minh forces alone . . . is not to be tolerated'. That is to say, the war is to go on under all circumstances, even without any pretence about Chinese aggression, rather than allow the people of Indo-China to decide their fate themselves.

Thus the United States has made it perfectly clear that its government agreed in February to discuss 'the problem of restoring peace in Indo-China' with its tongue in its cheek and perfidy in its heart. And it must be noted that, for all its objections to 'too rigid commitments', the Tory Government of this country at bottom agrees with Dulles, but makes it only a 'question of timing'—as *The Times* delicately headed a note by its diplomatic correspondent on the very same day (April 9). For if this usually not unreliable writer is to be believed: 'There is complete agreement in London with the American view that Indo-China must not be allowed to fall to the Communists.' No rubbish about Chinese aggression here, either—but why hurry, says the Foreign Office. That was a warning in advance to the British working class that, if the Americans succeed in engineering a breakdown at Geneva—and at sabotage, at any rate, they showed in Korea their master-craftsmanship—the British Government is preparing for active intervention in Indo-China. On April 14, the cat was out of the bag: Eden published his agreement with Dulles—to 'examine the possibility of establishing a collective defence' of South-East Asia. That is, Dulles to sabotage at Geneva, a 'failure to agree' to be proclaimed, and an open Anglo-American war pact against China to go ahead.

What has the Soviet attitude been on this question of peace in the Far East? In his report on the Berlin negotiations, published on March 5, the Soviet Foreign Minister wrote on the Korean discussions to be held at Geneva:

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> The task is to assist in the national unification of Korea along democratic lines and in the transition of Korea from an armistice to lasting peace.

As to the 'difficult task' of restoring peace and the national rights of the peoples of Indo-China, said the report, the most important thing was that *all* participating at Geneva should recognise the need, not of continuing the hopeless war, but of 'an agreement corresponding to the principles of the freedom and national independence of the peoples'. Within these statements lay the possibility of tough negotiation and of compromise: and they ruled out any attempt to terrorise one's opponents by extending the war.

At the beginning of April the Soviet Union took a further step in suggesting the way to a settlement. A *Pravda* editorial (4/4/1954) quoted the proposals of the Bureau of the World Peace Council, adopted at its Vienna meeting some days before.

> Korea must be reunited peacefully and must freely decide its own destiny after the withdrawal of foreign troops. An immediate ceasefire in Indo-China would clear the ground for negotiations between France and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The Soviet people wholeheartedly support these decisions, said *Pravda,* and 'they will do everything in their power to secure the practical implementation of the decisions of the Bureau of the World Peace Council'. Incidentally, this pledge also applied to the proposals for the prohibition of atomic weapons, and the establishment of a system of international inspection and control of enforcement of the prohibition. An editorial in *Izvestia,* two days later, repeated all these proposals and pledges. Thus, while the U.S.A. and its satellites entered the Geneva conference-rooms swinging the H-bomb from their finger-tips, with plans to extend the war and roaring threats, the Soviet Union came with proposals for a commonsense compromise in both Korea and Indo-China, leaving threats to those who are impressed by them.

II. *Europe*

Equally present at Geneva, though not on the printed agenda, is the problem of European security, which has advanced very far since it was left by the Berlin communique of February 18 with the remark that the four Ministers had discussed it, together with the questions of Germany and Austria, but 'were unable to reach agreement on these matters'. If there is one question which is bound to play a leading part in conversations off the record in the Palace of Nations, when the world balance of forces is under discussion, it is this.

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Two months ago it was shown in the *Labour Monthy* that agreement was not reached at Berlin because the Western Powers had come to Berlin with their minds made up that at all costs, whatever was proposed about German elections, unity of Germany, an Austrian peace treaty, etc., West Germany was to be rearmed and the 'European army', with German armed forces as an important part, was to be formed. The Western Powers were rewarded on February 23 with a handsome tribute from Dr. Adenauer himself —spokesman of the great trusts reconstituted in West Germany under the same directors that ruled industry and the banks in Nazi days, Chancellor of a government packed with men who held high office under Hitler and have in recent months repeatedly preached a war of revenge.* Adenauer said:

> Germany has every reason to be grateful to the three Western Ministers. They presented our case so clearly, so logically and with such warmth that we can only say, 'German negotiators could not have done better'.

So, on December 7, 1932, after hearing a brilliant lawyer's argument by the then British Foreign Secretary against doing anything to restrain Japanese Fascist aggressors, the spokesman of the latter at the League of Nations Assembly, Matsuoka, declared:

> Sir John Simon has said in half an hour, in a few well-chosen phrases, what I have been trying to tell the Assembly in my bad English for ten days.

At that time the champions of Western civilization were doing their best to head off Japanese aggression westward, as a year or so later they began trying to head Hitler off eastward: and at Geneva, of all places, Eden and Bidault ought to meditate on the unspoken implications of the Matsuoka-Adenauer type of compliment.

It is natural, of course, that American warmongers like Dulles and his colleagues, who play cheerfully with the risk of global destruction through the hydrogen bomb, and seek every opportunity for using it in the Far East against China, should be equally irresponsible in pressing for the rearmament of the German militarist savages who have already let loose two world wars in 25 years: and in rejecting the Soviet proposals for European security put forward at Berlin† as an alternative. The Wall Street gangsters imagine themselves safe behind the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, backed by a line of radar devices. But the British and French peoples can have no such illusions, and were bound to display growing uneasiness at the

*For a clear and crushing summary of the facts justifying these statements, see *Who Controls West German Industry*, published by the Labour Research Department at 6d.

†Now republished by *Soviet News*, with Molotov's report of March 5, as a penny booklet, *The Berlin Conference*.

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prospect of yet one more avenue leading to war. For this reason a campaign of distortion and misrepresentation of the Soviet proposals, broke out immediately after the Berlin Conference ended; and was carried still further when the Soviet Union made some important modifications in those proposals, by its Note of March 31.*

What was the essence of the Berlin proposals? It was that all the 32 European States, large and small and irrespective of their social systems, should renounce miltary groupings or attacks directed against each other, and by a European Security Treaty form a single regional organisation within the United Nations.

It was alleged against this scheme that 'the whole continent of Europe would be dominated by the Soviet Union' (Eden on February 24 and March 19, Lord Salisbury on March 24). But Molotov had already said at Berlin on February 15 that the Soviet Union was ready 'to eliminate such apprehensions' and 'to examine proposals aimed at not permitting one State to dominate over others'. No State, however powerful, should have a 'dominating position' in this European Security system, he added in his report of March 5: the Soviet Union, he said in his election speech of March 11, 'does not claim any privileged position in the system', and was ready to consider this and other possible amendments in the final draft.

Similarly with Eden's allegation that 'the aim of the treaty is to break the links between North America and Western Europe' (Eden on February 24), *i.e.*, to do away with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (N.A.T.O.). In point of fact, clause 10 of Molotov's draft at Berlin had specifically laid down that the European Security Treaty would not 'interfere in any way' with its participants' existing obligations—provided their 'principles and purposes' were in line with those of E.S.T. On February 14 Molotov had said that it was an 'invention' to say that the Treaty required the liquidation of N.A.T.O. On February 15 he twice underlined that the Treaty was an alternative to the German-dominated 'European Army' and that if there were objections to his original proposal that the U.S.A. should send an observer into the proposed European organisation, 'we are ready to discuss proposals which would satisfy everyone'. He repeated this offer in his election speech of March 11.

But just as Eden and his colleagues carefully refrained from discussing proposals to prevent the Soviet Union 'dominating' the continent of Europe, so they avoided offering any suggestion for

*Republished by *Soviet News* as a penny booklet, *Collective Security in Europe*.

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including the U.S.A. on reasonable terms in the all-European security organisation. At the same time they went on insisting that N.A.T.O. was for defensive purposes only, and menaced no one. Very well then, said the Soviet Union in its Note of March 31, let the doubts about Soviet domination and America's exclusion be settled in the obvious way:

> The opinion has been expressed that it would be undesirable for the United States to be left outside a treaty for collective security in Europe. In view of this, and bearing in mind the participation of the United States during the second World War in the common fight against Hitler aggression, and the responsibility which it bears, along with the Soviet Union, France and Britain, for the post-war settlement in Europe; and likewise taking into account the point of view expressed by the United States Government at the Berlin Conference, the Soviet Government for its part sees no obstacle to a favourable settlement of the question of the United States participating in the general European treaty for collective security in Europe.

And as for N.A.T.O., if it were genuinely for defence only and not directed against the U.S.S.R., the Soviet Union was ready to discuss with them 'the question of the Soviet Union's participation in the North Atlantic Treaty'. These plain and unequivocal offers—which met all the objections, both to the European Security Treaty and to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation voiced on *either side*—struck the American propagandists all of a heap. 'Somersault?' was the heading on *The Times* leading article (2/4/1954).

And yet it was no somersault. In its first public statement on the North Atlantic Treaty (January 29, 1949) the Soviet Government pointed out that its inspirers had 'from the very outset excluded the possibility of the participation in that Pact of all the countries of People's democracy and of the Soviet Union'. In its memorandum on the Treaty (March 31, 1949) sent to the signatory States five years to a day before the Soviet Note, the U.S.S.R. again pointed out that it was 'excluded' from the Treaty, and that this exclusion was evidence of its anti-Soviet character. This was underlined again by Vyshinsky at the United Nations General Assembly (November 14, 1949 and January 7, 1952).

The fact is that any military grouping of Powers which deliberately excludes another is bound to serve as a hostile weapon against the one excluded. Twenty years ago when attempts were also being made to establish security this was common ground in Europe. In 1934 Louis Barthou, the French Foreign Minister—later assassinated by Nazi agents—proposed an Eastern Pact of Mutual Assistance comprising France, Germany and the U.S.S.R. as well as Czecho-

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slovakia, Poland, Finland and the Baltic States, for mutual protection against aggression. Hitler refused to enter—and his refusal was universally interpreted as evidence of his intention to commit aggression. In 1935 France and the U.S.S.R. concluded a pact of mutual assistance between themselves, explicitly leaving it open to be transformed into a triple pact, should Germany agree to enter as they wished. Again the Nazis' refusal was understood all over the world as deliberate—to keep their hands free for attacking the U.S.S.R.

Now the Soviet Union has offered to discuss its entry into an organisation of which hitherto it has had the gravest suspicions, and the members of which claimed to have been driven into pooling their military resources by fear of the Soviet Union. And the dominant partner, the U.S.A., hastened to reject the offer, the very same day, without even consulting its allies! *Who wants today to play the part of Hitler, then: who is anxious to keep his hands free for aggression against the U.S.S.R.?* This conclusion was so obvious and so glaring that it drove the Americans' apologists to an extraordinary series of arguments, one more imbecile—or impudent—than the other.

'Russian representatives on the North Atlantic Council would have access to every military secret of the Western Powers' (*Manchester Guardian,* 2/4/1954). But in return the Western Powers would have the same degree of access to every military secret of the Soviet Union—and they are always wailing about the impenetrable secrets of the Kremlin! Could there be any better guarantee to either side against aggression? 'Can it be imagined that the Soviet Government would agree to all the infringements of sovereignty involved in membership of N.A.T.O.?' (*Economist,* 10/4/1954). But the Soviet Government had offered to discuss precisely that—or did the *Economist* imagine that the U.S.S.R. was unfamiliar with how N.A.T.O. works? Why not go to the conference table and find out, instead of 'imagining'? 'Russian representatives on the North Atlantic Council could prevent it from ever doing anything' (*Manchester Guardian,* 2/4/1954). Doing what, against whom? Commit aggression against the U.S.S.R.? Very likely—but that intention its authors disclaim. Punish the U.S.S.R. for committing aggression? How could the U.S.S.R. stop them—particularly when its military secrets were known? And the very fact of the U.S.S.R. being closely mixed up with the other Powers would be the most powerful deterrent from aggression for *all* concerned. But this evidently is just what the Americans and their satellites don't like.

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'N.A.T.O. and E.D.C. would lose their meaning if Germany was left both unarmed and unoccupied' (*The Times*, 2/4/1954). Leaving aside the fact that this completely distorts the Soviet proposals, as will be shown below, *The Times* statement represents an amazing admission. For it cannot be seriously alleged that N.A.T.O.—a combination of such Powers as the U.S.A. and Britain, and representing a total population group of close on 400 millions, against the 240 millions of the U.S.S.R. and European People's Democracies—is really helpless for self-defence without the 48 millions of Western Germany! Obviously therefore their 'meaning' is something more than self-defence.

'The possibility of a German contribution to E.D.C. was denounced while the existence of German military formations in the East Zone was ignored' (Anthony Eden, 1/4/1954). Yet the Soviet proposals at Berlin laid down quite clearly that both parts of Germany should have only police units for internal order and frontier defence, the strength and armament of which 'shall be determined by agreement among the four Powers', who would form 'inspection groups', of representatives of all four, in both Eastern and Western Germany. So that what 'formations' existed before the agreement is immaterial: they would be dissolved or scaled down as required.

' "Military groupings" in the West were condemned while Soviet treaty arrangements with the satellite Powers and Eastern Germany were passed over in silence' (Anthony Eden, the same day). What are the Soviet 'treaty arrangements' with Eastern Germany? They were published in this country four days before Eden spoke—and they provide that security arrangements remain in the hands of the U.S.S.R., while the German Democratic Republic continues to abide by the Potsdam agreement disarming and demilitarising Germany. What are the Soviet treaty arrangements with the countries which shed their blood in the Allied cause, whom Eden now calls 'satellites', like Poland or Czechoslovakia? They provide for mutual assistance if either party becomes involved in hostilities with Germany, 'should the latter try to resume her aggressive policy', or with other States uniting with Germany in a policy of aggression. *And what are Soviet treaty arrangements with Britain under the Twenty-year Treaty of Alliance (May 26, 1942)?* Precisely the same! What are Soviet treaty arrangements with France, under the Twenty-year Treaty of Alliance of December 10, 1944? *Precisely the same!*

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And then comes the supreme moment. N.A.T.O., said Mr. Eden on the same occasion, 'was founded on the principles of individual liberty and the rule of law. Article 11 pledged the parties to strengthen free institutions. It was not yet clear whether Moscow was now willing to etc., etc.' Ah yes, individual liberty . . . Turkey and Greece—the homes of individual liberty—in one, no trade unions or working-class parties allowed these thirty years: in the other, police selection of trade union officials by a system which even the T.U.C. in its day denounced! The U.S.A., home of individual liberty—subject to approval by McCarthy and the F.B.I.; exponent of the rule of law as the Negro population of the southern States can testify! The British Empire, home of free institutions—except of course for British Guiana and Malaya and Kenya and Uganda, and a few more!

The cumulative impression from all these bizarre arguments put forward to justify rejection of the Soviet proposals is that all of them are insincere, and that the real reason is hatred of, and warlike intentions against, the Soviet Union.

In this situation it is not surprising that an old acquaintance should reappear in the armoury of anti-Soviet arguments. 'We must as a nation take the view that if there is to be trouble, the further east the trouble is kept the better for Europe and for us' (Mr. Herbert Morrison in the debate on Berlin, 24/2/1954). How do you like that, older readers? The younger can refer to books like the Editor's *World Politics, 1918-1936*, F. L. Schuman's *Europe on the Eve* (1939) or Professor A. B. Keith's *The Causes of the War* (1940) for the full explanation of how this wise maxim led the world into a second mutual slaughter, in which nearly 30 millions lost their lives. But it was no slip of the tongue on the part of Labour's ex-Foreign Secretary. This is the kind of lunatic calculation that inevitably begins to be made when the Dulleses and the Edens, the Churchills and the Eisenhowers, are given a free hand. Such calculations, however, need not be accepted. The Americans wanted to stop Britain expanding her trade with the U.S.S.R., and they were backed by British Labour leaders—but the demand of the workers proved too strong, and the barriers are beginning to weaken. Churchill wanted to prevent a debate on the hydrogen bomb, and the Labour leaders refused to press him—but the demand of the people grew too strong, and important consequences followed. Indeed, the Geneva Conference itself, which the Americans didn't want, and the Berlin meeting which gave rise to it—and which the Americans also did their best to prevent—have likewise been the

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consequences of resolute demand by the people. The working class of Britain can impose its will once again, with historic effect. Trade union branches and trades councils, shop stewards committees and local Labour Parties, public meetings and co-operative guilds—these will not have their delegates at Geneva on April 26. Yet if they make up their minds to throw the weight of the British people into the balance, they can make the Geneva meeting a decisive step to world peace. It takes a day for letters from Britain to reach Geneva: never could the post be used to better purpose.

HELEN CRAWFURD ANDERSON

Helen Crawfurd Anderson, who died on April 18 in her seventy-seventh year, was an old supporter of Labour Monthly *and a valued contributor.*

As a fighter against the subjection of women she became widely known in Scotland and beyond in the years before 1914: and for her courageous activities in the cause of women's suffrage she more than once suffered imprisonment.

Already a keen socialist and a leading figure in the Scottish labour movement, she took a most active part in the struggles against the Liberal-Conservative-Labour coalition cabinets of the first world war, with its disastrous effects on the life and conditions of the working class and the whole people.

Her courage, her hatred of poverty and misery, her wrath at the callous outlook and behaviour of the ruling class, her burning love of her country and her people combined to make one of the foremost woman speakers of this century.

After a journey in 1920 to the first workers' republic in Russia, where she talked with Lenin, she joined the newly-formed Communist Party of Great Britain. Twenty years later she wrote in Labour Monthly:

> *No Knighthoods were presented to the fighting working class of our Party, many of whom, slandered, attacked, persecuted, victimised, could neither get a job nor a roof to cover them during these eventful years. Working women, too, suffered in this persecution and attack. The barriers erected by the reformists were torn down by the workers who joined us in our campaign for the unemployed—for safety men in the pit—for feeding the hunger-marchers—for relief for Spain—for the International Brigade—in the fight against Fascism and for peace.*

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LABOUR PARTIES' PROTEST AGAINST REARMING GERMANY

IN view of the very large number of resolutions passed by divisional Labour Parties in protest against German rearmament, many of which have been sent to *Labour Monthly*, we felt it would be of value to our readers at home and overseas to make a short survey of the contents. There has been an extraordinarily wide volume of protest against the West German rearmament within the trade union and Labour movement. The protest is still growing. The trade union conferences to take place at Easter and up to the summer have resolutions on German rearmament on their agenda; notably the following: Union of Shop Assistants, Distributive and Allied Workers; Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union; Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen; Electrical Trades Union; South Wales Miners; Scottish Miners, Amalgamated Engineering Union; Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers. In the case of the National Union of Mineworkers and the National Union of Railwaymen for whose July Conferences the agenda is not yet available, it may nevertheless be regarded as fairly certain that resolutions on German rearmament will come up, notably from Derbyshire, where the N.U.M. Area Council has already made a protest. The Co-operative Party too will decide upon it at its Easter Conference.*

But perhaps the most expressive sign of the 'fires down below' is the flood of resolutions passed by local Labour Parties. These are too widespread and too strongly worded to be taken lightly. They mark a deep revulsion of feeling amongst Labour Party members against the wrecking of Party policy by the Right-wingers in the National Executive Committee.

Less than five months after the Margate Conference of the Party had laid down a policy on German rearmament, the leaders proposed to abandon their policy and accept that of the Tory Government. When on February 23, Attlee and Morrison met with members of Parliament of both Houses to put their proposal, in spite of having stuffed the meeting with peers, they carried it by a majority of only two. The constituency parties reacted immediately and unmistakably. In that last week of February and then throughout March and into this present month, local Labour Parties have been

*Which in opposition to its National Committee decided by 5,092,000 votes to 2,410,000 against re-arming of West Germany.

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meeting and voicing protests. This volume of opinion recalls the outburst of indignation over the Hoare-Laval Pact of nearly twenty years ago, which swept Sir Samuel Hoare from the Foreign Office. It has got a poor showing in the press. Indeed the majority of the 'free British press' have been so submissive either to the Tory leaders, scared Right-wingers or to the American dictators that they have managed to omit any mention of this profound popular movement of feeling. Even the *Daily Herald* during a month in which scores of Labour Parties had passed resolutions against German rearmament, managed to mention but seven of them—just giving only the names of the parties. The text of the resolutions never appeared; but the texts are important. Here are no formal or perfunctory protests against the departure from the Margate policy, but a passionate repudiation of the surrender to toryism. Here, for example, is the Halifax Labour Party resolution:

> That the Halifax Labour Party re-affirms its opposition to any form of German rearmament and views with alarm the decision of the National Executive Committee and the Parliamentary Labour Party to support the rearmament of Western Germany within E.D.C. In view of the decision of the Margate Conference and in view of the danger of disunity within the Party on this issue, we call for a special National Emergency Conference to reconsider this issue without delay. Pending the calling of such an emergency conference the Halifax Labour Party regards the Margate decision as still the official Labour Policy.

An even stronger expression of opinion (it uses the words 'outright treachery') comes from the extreme east end of the Greater London area:

> This Hornchurch Constituency Labour Party condemns the action of the Parliamentary Labour Party and the National Executive Committee in agreeing to German rearmament. This agreement is in contradiction to the feelings of the rank and file members of the Labour Party as expressed in countless resolutions to Transport House and those on the agenda of the Margate Conference and therefore amounts to outright treachery against the party members. This party further calls on the National Executive Committee to reverse its decision to support the Parliamentary Party's action.

The above resolution was published in the *Romford Times* on March 17. In the two neighbouring constituencies of Dagenham and West Walthamstow, similar resolutions were passed. On the south side of the Thames estuary, in the county of Kent, Orpington, with telling brevity, records 'this party is opposed, completely, to German rearmament'. The Chislehurst and Sidcup C.L.P. (known to be the largest in Kent) passed by an eight to one majority a very strong resolution:

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> This party reiterates its total opposition to German rearmament under any condition or in any form. It believes that the remilitarisation of Western Germany will strengthen the forces of reaction and could lead to the re-emergence of a tyrannical, totalitarian régime in that country.

The same Party regarded the British delegation to the European Labour Parties' Conference in Brussels as 'totally unrepresentative of rank and file views'. Within London itself, the General Committee of the Stoke Newington and Hackney North Constituency Labour Party

> expresses its profound regret at the vote of the Parliamentary Labour Party in support of the rearmament of Western Germany. It re-emphasises its conviction that a militant Germany, with armed forces under its own control and with its own General Staff, is the greatest menace to world peace. It declares that the Labour Party should not go beyond the proposals for German rearmament, subject to precisely defined conditions, accepted by the last Labour Government.

It goes on to record 'full approval' of its M.P.'s views and welcomes 'the opposition of powerful sections of French public opinion' to German rearmament and regret that the British press 'has not given the public a true reflection of French opinion'. In Islington, North and South, in Willesden, East and West, in Shoreditch, Hackney South and other London constituencies, the picture is the same.

Leaving London we find the same reaction in the great cities of the Midlands. In the Birmingham area, the Erdington Divisional Labour Party 'views with dismay' the decision to support the re-arming of Western Germany which 'will create a new danger to the peace of Europe and is *completely out of accord with the views and feelings of the Labour movement as a whole*'. They call for a reversal of the decision and for an emergency conference of the Party, and they forwarded the resolution not only to the N.E.C., but also to Messrs. Attlee and Morrison. A similar resolution was passed by Sparkbrook.

In Coventry, as might well have been expected, feeling runs high. The Borough Labour Party endorsed a letter to Morgan Phillips, the Secretary of the Labour Party, in which it said:

> No single political event in the last few years has stirred the members of the Coventry Labour Party so much as the decision to re-arm Germany. . . .
>
> The Labour movement is obviously divided, we appear to be out of tune with our friends in the German Social Democratic Party, and the N.E.C. is giving a lead to which the rank and file of our party cannot easily respond, indeed, appear to reject.

The Coventry Borough Party, with the support of the East, North and South Constituency Parties, requested the summoning of a

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national conference to review the present situation 'in the light of the Margate Conference decisions, at the earliest possible moment'. Some 100 delegates to the L.P. General Management Committee on March 10 had decided against German rearmament with only five dissentients. Wolverhampton too, (South West Constituency) at a special meeting on March 18, by over two-thirds majority declared itself:

> Opposed to West German rearmament as likely to lead to a third world war. It is of opinion that the conditions laid down in the resolution at Margate Conference have not been adequately fulfilled, and requests the N.E.C. to call an emergency conference at an early date to decide the issue.

In Nottinghamshire, Carlton D.L.P. registered 'strong disagreement'. On Merseyside the feeling was stronger still. At the Bebington C.L.P., with approximately 70 delegates present on March 4, the resolution was 'carried without dissent, one delegate speaking against, but not voting against'. When the same resolution six days later was moved at the Birkenhead Trades Council and Labour Party with approximately 140 delegates present, it was carried with only four voting against and only one speaking against. The M.P. for Birkenhead was asked for his observations on the resolution which calls for a delegate conference and

> Strongly opposes the action of the N.E.C. and the Parliamentary Labour Party in giving support to the government's policy for the rearming of Western Germany.

What is remarkable in these and dozens of others that might be quoted is the unanimity of feeling, with all the variety of wording and expression, on three points. First, against West German rearmament; secondly, protest at violation of Margate Conference decisions; thirdly, for the urgent need to summon a special conference. The unanimity of the third point shows the determination to have those responsible brought to account; it is already tantamount to a vote of no confidence in them. It is these right-wing leaders, followed by the docile half of the parliamentarians who have been busily engaged in subversive action to overturn the Margate decisions and to get the Party committed to a tory policy. Their conspicuous lack of success so far is shown from other main cities in England such as Norwich in East Anglia who demand a special conference as do Newcastle in the North-East (who 'deplore' the N.E.C.'s action); as well as the great Yorkshire and Lancashire towns, not to speak of smaller centres like Reading on the Thames, Horsham in Sussex and Penrith and Border C.L.P. in Cumberland. In Lancashire, besides many D.L.P.s in Manchester, we find Bury,

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which 'deplores' the action of the Parliamentary Party, and 'demands' an emergency conference, with Bolton and Rochdale among many others; while farther north, Barrow and Dalton-in-Furness C.L.P. calls for a referendum of the whole British people and a ballot of all C.L.P.s. In Yorkshire alone Leeds, Halifax and Huddersfield, Sheffield and Bradford, head a list of divisional labour parties which is buttressed by well over 60 resolutions from trades councils (notably Hull and Dewsbury), divisional and district committees and councils of unions and an array of trade union branches: it is hard to find an important union unrepresented. In Scotland, right across the midland valleys of the Forth and Clyde, from the shires of Perth and Stirling to Ayr as well as in Glasgow and Edinburgh, divisional Labour Parties have gone on record against German re-armament. In Wales not only divisional parties like Brecon and Radnor, but the Welsh Regional Council of Labour demand a special national conference. The National Executive Committee will have some difficulty in resisting the summoning of a conference, especially if the important unions add their weight to the demand. They will find a special conference not so ready to adopt a tory policy as the 'shadow cabinet' and its immediate followers.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

THE BATTLE BEFORE US

The evolution of the Labour Party has in the past period, despite the character of the leadership from the outset, represented an objective advance of the working class. But the battle for independence, which has in the past been fought through the forms of the Labour Party, has never been more than half fought. The independence has only been independence in organisation from the Liberal and Conservative Parties; it has never been a real independence of programme and policy, which has remained subordinate to capitalist politics. In consequence, the inevitable outcome of the Labour Party has been the opposite to that for which many of its early pioneers in the country fought; the more the Labour Party has grown, the more it has become in practice a capitalist governing party, an integral part of the capitalist state. The second half of the battle has now to be fought, the battle to realise independent working-class politics on a programme of political class struggle against capitalism and against the capitalist state.

From *The Class War in the Election*, by R.P.D., May, 1929.

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A LABOUR READER'S PROPOSAL

A CONSIDERABLE number of letters has been received asking whether the April Notes of the Month could be made available in shortened form, as a pamphlet. One letter from a reader in an industrial centre in the North of England makes the following interesting proposal:

> Thank you for yet another magnificent contribution in the fight for Socialism in your April Notes.
>
> The overwhelming case you have made makes you the advocate for all real Socialists in the Labour Party, and all your readers will feel that these members of the Labour Party would be eager to express their gratitude to you for so clearly showing them the 'way out' of their wretched frustration could this case you have so faithfully stated reach them.
>
> Cannot something be done to get this case into the hands of every one of the live members of the Labour Party?
>
> Do please consider at once the printing in pamphlet form at the lowest price at which 200,000 or half a million copies can be produced. I am sure that I could—for this special and most urgent purpose collect from a dozen friends a useful sum to assist—perhaps £12. Many others of your readers would do as well in such an excellent cause—so urgently necessary.
>
> I would collect the assistance of friends here who have contacts with all the active members of the constituency and ward parties to ensure the pamphlet reaches every one of the actives and as many as possible of the membership, known Labour voters and trade union members. Such efforts in all localities should secure the distribution of at least half a million copies—half a million would not be too many, particularly since the essence of the pamphlet is an historical document of permanent inestimable value.
>
> The paramount urgent need is for your irrefutable statement and historical analysis to reach the Labour Party members.
>
> In deep gratitude to you for all of your service to humanity.

In a reply letter to our friend we have had to point out that money for the initial outlay is not the only obstacle to his proposal; a greater difficulty is the absence of machinery for distribution of so large a print. However, we promised him that we would print his letter and invite readers in other areas to let us know if they are prepared to do likewise; and in particular to tell us what numbers they could guarantee to distribute. Estimates for the pamphlet would then be made on that basis at a price designed just to cover actual cost; and in any event not to exceed sixpence.

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Book Reviews

THE CHINESE LEADER

Selected Works, Vol. I, by Mao Tse-tung. (336 pp. Lawrence & Wishart. *6s.*)

SINCE the dissemination throughout the world of the writings of Mao Tse-tung is of the first importance it is gratifying to note that the translation and format of the first volume of the English edition leave nothing to be desired. At its cut price it should be a best seller. The period covered is from 1926 to 1936, the years when Mao was solving the problems of applying Marxism to the new Chinese scene. Every kind of problem, economic, political, military, cultural presented itself, and the lesson of the Chinese solution of these problems will be studied in all lands. Here we shall stress but one aspect of the genius of Chairman Mao, his extraordinary grasp of the detail of concrete social reality. This gift of the Chinese leader has the incidental advantage that it gives to his theoretical masterpieces the liveliness of brilliant reportage.

It became desirable, for instance, in 1927 to have a clear picture of the course of the peasant movement in Hunan. Mao went down himself and spent a month in close contact with persons and events. From this piece of sociological research there came the analysis of what Mao calls the Fourteen Great Deeds of the Peasants—an analysis which will preserve for posterity the achievement of these humble, nameless men. But together with the analysis comes the concrete detail.

> The peasants have not only raised their heads, but have also taken power into their hands. They are now running the peasant township associations, which have turned into a formidable force in their hands. They raise their rough, blackened hands and lay them on the gentry. They bind the bad gentry with ropes, put tall paper hats on them and lead them in a parade through the villages.

Others, seeing these events, thought the peasants' struggle was degenerating into a movement of the riff-raff. Mao saw not only the details but the meaning of the details. It is a fact that not one of the Great Deeds of the peasantry, not education, nor co-operation, nor the building of roads and embankments, was possible till the gentry were put down.

Blame is meted out with the same discerning sympathy as praise. When the theory of absolute equalitarianism in certain army quarters developed into a threat to efficiency Mao analysed this failing with the same concrete objectivity as he achieved in his analysis of the successes of the peasants. It manifested itself, he explains, in such errors as denying the necessity for officers to ride horses in performing their duties because horse-riding was taken to denote inequality; or demanding equal assignments for all persons in carrying rice, irrespective of age or physical condition or, when there were two wounded men and only one stretcher, in preferring to abandon both rather than to carry either. Errors so precisely described are easier to eradicate. With what success the Chinese have applied the technique of criticism and self-criticism to the elimination of failings great and small their revolutionary victory testifies. No point is too small for Mao's attention. Explaining the necessity for attending, during the course of the fighting, to the living standards of the people, he writes:

> The wooden bridge over there is too narrow, and people may fall

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off. Should not repairs be made? Many people have boils or other complaints. What measures can we take?

Villages handled in this spirit were won for the revolution and then played their indispensable role in carrying the revolution to success. I hope I have made it plain that this book should be read. It is not likely that any other will better explain the victories great and small that have added up to the liberation of the Chinese people, nor the patience and courage it took to win them. It is not likely that any other book could do more to cement an indissoluble friendship between the British and the Chinese peoples.

B. FARRINGTON.

A SINGLE SPARK

A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire, by Mao Tse-tung. (22 pp. Collet's, 9*d*.)

THIS short pamphlet, the latest of Chairman Mao's writings to be reprinted in English, consists of a letter to a comrade written to combat a pessimistic view of the then situation current in the Chinese Communist Party in 1930. The argument, which revolves particularly around the question whether (at that time) it would be better to disperse forces and save energy by concentrating on guerilla warfare, or to make every effort to maintain an organised Soviet centre—a 'spark' to fire China as the existence of the Soviet Union fires the world—is resolved by Mao in his characteristically dialectic fashion, by exposing the false alternative, and extracting the strategic optimum from all possibilities, related to an exact measure of the stage reached. Here is how he estimates this last. As many comrades know, Chairman Mao is an accomplished poet, and nowhere is this quality of his expression shown better than in the final, inspiring paragraph of this letter, so abundantly justified by the event:

> How to interpret the two words 'arise soon' in the phrase 'a revolutionary upsurge will arise soon' is a common question among many comrades. A Marxist is not a fortune-teller: of future developments and changes he should and can only point out the general direction; he should not and cannot mechanically fix the day and the hour. My statement that the revolutionary upsurge in China will arise soon emphatically does not refer to something utterly devoid of significance for action, to a tantalising phantom, which, in the words of some people, 'may arise'. It is like a ship on the sea whose mast-head is already seen at a distance by people standing on the shore; it is like the morning sun which, rising with radiant beams in

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the east, is already seen from afar by people standing on top of a mountain; it is like an almost fully formed child stirring in its mother's womb.

Mainly of historical interest, it has also, like all Mao's writings, a general application for all who devote their lives to change the world.

IVOR MONTAGU.

WEST GERMANY

Who Controls West German Industry? (16 pp. Labour Research Department, *6d.*)

West Germany Prepares War of Revenge. (120 pp. 41 photographs. Committee for German Unity).

IF there is still anyone who has any doubts as to who are the real rulers of West Germany, and how far the preparations for a war of revenge have gone, these two publications will dispel them.

Who Controls West German Industry? shows that the men who in 1933 put Hitler into power have made a complete comeback, and have re-established the trusts and cartels with Anglo-American assistance. The magnates of the Ruhr, the men who directed Hitler's war economy, who managed the Auschwitz gas plants—one and all they have been handed back their combines and are today the driving force behind the re-establishment, under the guise of E.D.C., of the Fascist war machine which, they hope, will enable them to expand their empire by another aggressive war. This pamphlet is indispensable for anyone who wants to know who are their new 'allies' on whose behalf they are being sold down the river by the Tory Government.

West Germany Prepares War of Revenge shows the military and political side of the same picture. In 120 pages closely packed with facts, and illustrated by irrefutable photographs, we see how far have gone the military and ideological preparations for aggressive war and who are the 'new' military leadership of the German 'contribution' to the European 'defence of civilisation'. 'We must not forget,' says Hitler's tank general Heinz Guderian, one of the 'new' military leaders, in a foreword to a book glorifying the S.S. and published in 1953, 'that the European idea was realised for the first time in the S.S.' That, of course, was when Britain fought the 'wrong war.' It is to be hoped that copies of this valuable volume of documentary proof of the crime that is being prepared will soon be on sale in this country, but in the meantime copies can be obtained by individual application to the Committee for German Unity, Berlin.

M.M.

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CORRECTION: On page 165 of the April issue, 9th last line, 'damn' should read 'dam'.

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have yet got down to the job in actual practice. What the situation demands is that every reader should be able to say like this Essex man, who enclosed 'another six' names for specimen copies: 'A reader myself since 1936, I always try to introduce L.M. to new readers wherever possible, for I firmly believe that it is invaluable to those who want a clear picture of the real political situation.' If each reader of that 1936 'vintage' alone were to find a new one, we should put on 6,500 and know that the tide was making. What about it, 'class of 1936'?

A Midlands reader has asked us to send L.M. for three months to a Labour Party friend to help him 'force his pro-German M.P. to toe the line at the next constituency party meeting'. He continues: 'The April Notes are surely the most maggot-stirring words that have ever been written. The clear analysis leaves no room for guesswork.' On page 237 a reader has an interesting proposal about it for Labour Party members.

MAY DAY greetings to all readers home and overseas; and as we move forward to destroy that bomb once and for all, a quick flashback to that lovely V.E. May, 1945, when from Hampstead Heath we could look

over the shabby city,
Over the river sweeping out
Nightmare reflections to the cold north sea,
Over the bombed sites' weedy waste,
Death's smokescreen lifting, clouds rolled back,
Piercing the fading vapour trail,
Gilding the demolition dust,
The sun—the glorious sun breaks through,
And the bells ring.

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